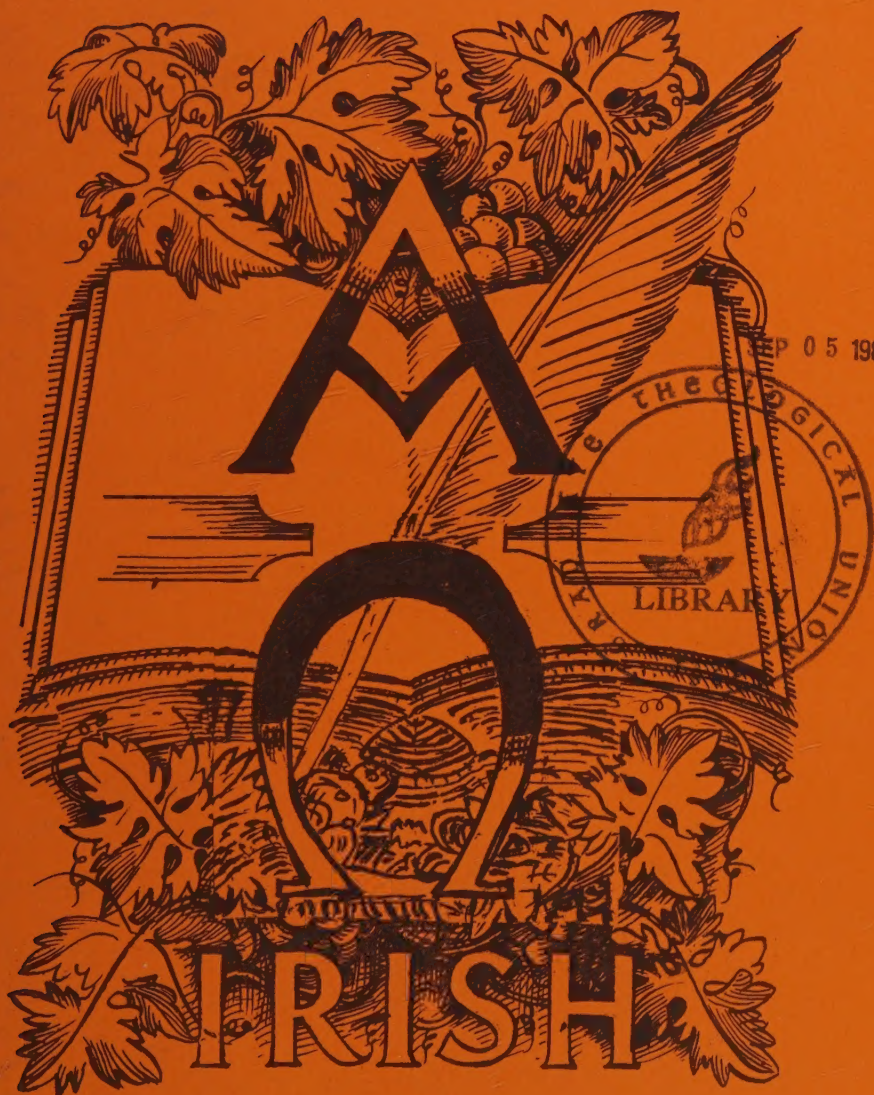


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"Hypocrisy" in Matthew.

Ivor W.J. Oakley.

It is the contention of this paper that the significance of Matthew's ethical teaching can be fully understood only when it is seen against the background of the hypocrisy which Jesus condemns so mercilessly in the Gospel. Hypocrisy is in fact the complete antithesis of righteousness as Jesus interprets that term(1). Matthew's presentation of his teaching on hypocrisy makes clear the distorted ethical outlook of the enemies of Jesus and by his teaching on righteousness provides the corrective to that position. Only through understanding of the negative teaching can the positive quality of true righteousness and the supreme place of love to God and men be adequately appreciated.

The word for "hypocrite" (*hupokrites*) occurs thirteen times in the Gospel of Matthew but only once in Mark and three times in Luke(2). The origin of the word is "actor" - one who plays a part. In the LXX the word describes the godless men while the Psalms of Solomon use the word to describe the Sadducees (3). In the Didache it is the regular term of abuse for the Jew (4) and in the second century A.D. a Jewish rabbi claimed that nine-tenths of the world's hypocrites lived in Jerusalem (5).

The usual interpretation of the word is one who pretends, especially in the practice of religion. In the Gospels the Pharisees are at times portrayed as religious pretenders - though often they act **unconsciously** in this way. Their actions contradicted their teaching and claims because they failed to think through the practical implications of their religious principles (6). But while the idea of pretence is a prominent aspect of the character of the hypocrite, the evidence suggests that it is only

one component, though important in its place, of a larger and more sinister picture.

The word "hypocrite" first arises in Matthew 6 (7) where the practice of alms giving, prayer and fasting are discussed. They were the three fundamental acts of Jewish piety and were representative of all other acts of righteousness (8). These activities were held to go beyond the Law and so they carried a special reward, had power to atone for sin and could even benefit others at the final judgment (9).

The hypocrites who misused these pious practices in the interests of self glorification are almost certainly the scribes and Pharisees. The reference to "righteousness" in Matthew 6 v.1 is a development of the teaching of Matthew 5 v.20 where the righteousness of the disciples must exceed that of the scribes and Pharisees (10). Thus the injunction to beware of practising righteousness - or piety - before men in order to be seen by them is in a sense the continuation of the six Antitheses of Matthew 5 vv.21-48. The same idea is taken up in Matthew 23 vv 5-7 where the Pharisees, in the light of the context are clearly in view (11).

In fairness it may be added that not all Pharisees were guilty of this kind of hypocrisy, and many in the first century would have agreed with Jesus' condemnation (12). But the indictment undoubtedly had relevance to some in the Pharisaic party (13).

The failure of the hypocrites is not the practice of alms giving, prayer and fasting as such for Jesus evidently assumes that his disciples will themselves engage in them (14). Rather, the hypocrites fail because of the motive of display and self glorification which underlies their religious practice. Their concern is not to express dedication to God or to care for the needy but to draw men's attention to themselves. As a result they "receive full payment now" and can expect no future

acknowledgement of their works from God. Hypocrites, therefore, forget that the opinion of men is of little consequence compared with the supreme importance of the divine verdict. To confuse the two leads to fatal consequences. (15)

Hypocrisy therefore involves conscious playing at being pious but at the same time is unaware of the religious vanity which underlies the whole procedure (16). Thus Jesus not only rejects appeals to the teaching of the "men of old" (17) when they conflict with the Law, but he also rejects the practice of the Law itself when it is used to win recognition by men rather than to express true love for God and neighbour. (18).

In contrast with the external righteousness condemned here, the disciples are urged to cultivate pure motives in the consciousness of God's reality, aiming to give glory to God and not receive glory from men (19).

Another facet of the hypocrite's character is his placing human tradition higher than God's commandment even though he avows the latter with his lips. As a result God's Law is violated by him and his worship of God becomes empty and vain. This is illustrated in the controversy between Jesus and the scribes and Pharisees who are more concerned with the tradition of the elders which requires men to wash their hands before they eat, than insisting that men observe the commandment to honour father and mother by making adequate provision for them (20). Accordingly the external piety of the "sincere" hypocrite robs him of a true perception of the will of God (21). This preference of human tradition for the plain commandment of God is the result of the alienation of man's heart from God. The

true source of hypocrisy in conduct is the state of a man's inner life (22). When that is put right, there will be a willingness to reject human tradition and to heed God's will as revealed in his Law.

In Matthew 22 v.18 hypocrisy is lined with "wickedness" (*poneria*) (23) which recalls Matthew's penchant for the adjective (*poneros*) (24). While the hypocrites pretended respect for Jesus their real concern was to use the question of tribute money to entangle him in his talk (25). Matthew, more than the other Synoptists, makes it clear that the attempt to trap and destroy Jesus was the result of a deliberate Pharisaic plot and it is aptly described as "wickedness". The total effect of Matthew's description of their conduct is to double the wickedness of the Pharisees(26).

The most sustained attack on the scribes and Pharisees is made in Matthew 23 which forms the climax to all previous controversies. Possibly Matthew has brought together sayings which were uttered on different occasions into a unified whole, which he intends to be an explanation for his church's severance of remaining links with Judaism (27). The core of the chapter is a series of seven woes which act as a counter balance to the Beatitudes (28). In it the failures of the nation's spiritual guides are fully exposed, and their responsibility for the judgment and downfall of Israel is made clear. While the teaching of the scribes and Pharisees is denounced, the brunt of the attack falls on their works and inconsistent lives (29). The ultimate purpose of denunciation is to present Jesus and his teaching as an alternative to Pharisaism (30). The righteousness required of his followers must surpass the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees which is outlined here (31).

Considerable difference of opinion exists about the historicity and significance of Jesus' criticism of the scribes and Pharisees. It is frequently alleged that in other parts of the Gospel but principally here the

the picture of the scribes and Pharisees is not historical since it paints an unfair and unbalanced picture of them in the first century. In fact they would have been as firmly opposed to the hypocrisy denounced here as Jesus is said to be.

The chapter accordingly, should not be treated primarily as a historical description - though it may contain historical elements - but a theological polemic which was directed not only against Jews but also Christians. They are both warned against hypocrisy and are shown that this is the antithesis of the conduct expected from the Christian disciple. (32)

On the other hand the Gospel picture has been defended as true of a considerable portion of the scribes and Pharisees, as even some Jewish scholars themselves concede. While there were improvements after the A.D.70 catastrophe it is dangerous to read back later evidence into the early decades of the first century. The evidence of the Synoptic Gospels should be accepted as reliable contemporary evidence.(33)

But on either understanding of the evidence the relevance to the church as well as the Jews is apparent. Earlier warning about false prophets the uselessness of calling Jesus "Lord" and the claim to do miracles and uttering prophecies in his name but failing to do the will of God (34) reveal the presence of hypocrisy in the church itself.(35)

Before the commencement of the woes and the detailing of the Pharisaic hypocrisy, Matthew describes their failures in general terms. The outstanding feature of their characters is the inconsistency between their teaching and their

actions. (Elsewhere Matthew also highlights failure in their teaching.)(36)

Although the word is not used at this point this inconsistency is one of the various aspects of hypocrisy. (37)

As those who sit on Moses' seat the scribes and Pharisees are to be obeyed but their actions are not to be followed since they preach but do not practise (38). This claim reinforces the earlier accusation that they transgress God's commandment and so are blind guides (39). It is frequently assumed that Matthew understands that "Moses' seat" refers both to the Law itself and the scribal interpretation of it. If this is so then a contradiction is apparent between this chapter and such passages as Matthew 15 vv.1-8 where Jesus is depicted denouncing the tradition of the elders. Accordingly it is concluded that in Matthew 23 he is using a special Jewish source which does not harmonize with the rest of the Gospel (40). But other interpretations see "Moses' seat" to refer to the totality of the Law alone (41) or as a rhetorical or ironical statement made in preparation for the real stress of the passage which is to be located in the subsequent command "practise and observe..... not what they do"(42).

The scribes and Pharisees are then accused of binding heavy burdens "hard to bear and lay them on men's shoulders; but they themselves will not move them with their finger". (43) These burdens may mean either the scribal rulings which acted as a fence round the Law (44) or attempts to win adulation and to gain honours (45) or else persecutions (46). They stand in sharp contrast to the easy yoke and light burden of Jesus (47). Where they create social tension (48) he, the gentle and lowly one, offers rest(49).

In Matthew 23 vv 5-7, a practical application of Matthew 6 vv 1-18 condemning hypocrisy is made (50).

Their deeds are done to be seen by men, they broaden their phylacteries (51), make their fringes long (52) seek the place of honour at feasts, the best seats in the synagogues, salutations in the market place and the greeting of "Rabbi" by men. This public parade of piety, together with the seeking for positions and titles of eminence, is prompted by the underlying vice of pride (53). By contrast the lives of the disciples are to be marked by service and humility (54).

In Matthew 23 v.13 there occurs the first of seven woes (55). The word "woe" (*ouai*) implies both grief and burning indignation. (56). It expresses the attitude of God to men (57) and on the lips of Jesus it appears as a strong Messianic condemnation(58). The Old Testament pattern for Matthew's term is found in Isaiah 5 vv 8-23(59). In six of the seven woes the word "hypocrite" is used in the formula "Woe to you scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!" while the seventh has "Woe to you, blind guides"(60). Mark does not use the word "woe" but Luke 11 vv39-52 has five woes - albeit in a different order - corresponding to Matthew 13 vv 13-29, though without Matthew's fuller formula which mentions also "hypocrites". (61)

The first "woe" condemns the scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for shutting the kingdom of heaven against men. They neither enter themselves nor allow those who would enter to go in (62). Their teaching and casuistry obscured the real issues of belief and conduct and so they failed to respond positively to the teaching of John the Baptist (63) and the teaching and claims of Jesus. As a result men were discouraged from following him and obeying his message. They were, therefore, unable to fulfil

the conditions for entry into the kingdom (64).

The second woe (65) refers to the traversing of land and sea by the scribes and Pharisees to make a single proselyte. When he became such he was made by them twice as much a child of Gehenna as they were. Contemporary writers, especially Josphus, provide evidence of the excessive zeal of Jewish missionaries (66). The description here reflects the characteristic zeal of the convert (67). The term "child of hell" means "worthy of suffering punishment in the after life" (68) and may have reference to a further privilege or requirement of the proselyte which was not prescribed by the Law. Possibly it was the opportunity to divorce his wife if she did not also become a convert, and so the proselyte was placed above the Law (69).

The third woe is addressed not to the scribes and Pharisees as such but to them as blind guides (70). This description is justified in view of their attempt to argue that any one who swears by the temple is under no obligation but if any one swears by the gold of the temple he is bound by his oath. Similarly it is pointed out that it is futile to say that swearing by the altar is unimportant but if a man swears by the gift on the altar he is bound by his oath. The man who swears by the altar swears by it and everything on it. Similarly whoever swears by the temple swears by it and by him who dwells in it, and he who swears by heaven swears by the throne of God and by him who sits on it(71).

Attempts can be made to draw fine distinctions by the use of casuistry but the Pharisees are blind to the common hermeneutical rule - "If the lesser than the greater" (72). While Matthew 23 vv 16-22 does not go to the length of Matthew 5 vv.33-37 in forbidding the use of oaths, it is a reminder that God is the source of all and when any oath is made his presence, which witnesses it, cannot be evaded (73).

The scribes and Pharisees displayed intense zeal

in studying the Law but their hypocrisy led them in practice into venting it. Scribal casuistry sought to establish the validity of the Law in every way and to provide a fence for it. But their efforts led to the Law's real demands being evaded (74).

This theme occurs also in the fourth woe in which the hypocrites are accused of tithing, mint, dill and cummin but neglecting the weightier matters of the Law - justice, mercy and faith. They should have observed these more important principles "without neglecting the others." Their action reveals their blindness as they strain out a gnat and swallow a camel(75). The parallel statement in Luke says "You tithe mint and rue and every herb, and neglect justice and the love of God (76).

The principle of tithing which was an expression of devotion to God (77) was clearly taught in the Mosaic Law (78) but the practice of tithing all vegetables, herbs and spices was over and above what was strictly required by the Law. However, to the legalistically minded scribes this extended form of tithing was essential (79). Evidence from the Mishnah proves that dill and cummin were liable to tithing but there is no mention of mint (80). All these herbs were used in cooking, and dill and cummin were used for medical purposes (81).

The great failure of the scribes and Pharisees was that concentration on the minutiae led to the neglect of the weightier matters of the Law. They were unable to distinguish the relative importance of the commandments. A Rabbinic saying stated "Be heedful of a light precept as of a weightier one, for thou knowest not the recompense of the reward of each precept." In practice the

Oakley, Hypocrisy, IBS 7, July 1985.

obsession with minutiae led to the neglect of the more important commandments(82).

The command of Jesus is "These (the weightier matters) you ought to have done without neglecting the others." The latter statement is frequently felt to suggest an acceptance by Jesus of scribal tradition which in effect is a contradiction of statements elsewhere in the Gospel (83). Consequently its origin is traced to Jewish Christianity prior to A.D. 70 (84). However, the interpretation perhaps is that even scribal minutiae is not in principle objectionable to Jesus as long as there is no conflict with the fundamental principles of the Law (85). Alternatively these words may be viewed as a rhetorical over statement and not an acceptance by either Jesus or Matthew of the validity of scribal teaching. In the light of the polemical context the reference is merely to the less important demands or the less significant requirements of the Law (86).

The weightier matters are Judgment, Mercy and Faith. The terms are reminiscent of the classical statement of prophetic religion "He has showed you O man, what is good; and what does the Lord require of you but to do justice and to love kindness and to walk humbly with your God (87). These are described as weightier, not because they are necessarily more difficult to practise, but more important in the eyes of God (88). "Judgment" here does not refer to condemnation (89) or the final judgment (90) or to justice in general. Its real meaning is the Old Testament concept of respect for the rights of every man, just judgment and a fair verdict for the weak (91).

"Mercy" means merciful deeds and almsgiving. Luke at this point has "love for God" (92). Matthew elsewhere makes neighbourly love equal in importance to loving God (92) and so he sees love for God expressed through showing mercy to men (94). Both justice and mercy are virtues which imitate the character of God himself and constitute

a response to his approach to men (95). Mercy is a theme which runs right through the Gospels (96).

"Faithfulness" is essentially faithfulness which can be expressed in both loyalty to God and his will made known in the Law and the prophets and also in faithfulness and integrity in relationship to men (97). It is also possible, if the whole phrase is based on Micah and also in the light of Matthew's Gospel as a whole, that faith in God is also to be included in the meaning. This would be meant as trust in God's care and help (98). There could also be a further reference to faith in Jesus himself since that is a prominent theme in the Gospel (99).

Matthew presents justice, mercy and faithfulness/faith as the essentials of the Law. They constitute also the better righteousness described by Jesus which represents both the fulfilment of the Law and the standard which is superior to that of the scribes and Pharisees (100). It may be added that though justice, mercy and faithfulness/faith may not be direct enunciations of the love commandments (101), they are nevertheless closely related and should be understood as practical outworkings of these commandments (102).

These basic virtues were neglected by the scribes and Pharisees in all their scrupulous legalism(103). Hypocrisy leads men to use lesser commandments in order to escape the weightier. Thus they seek protection in the Law itself to evade God's unconditional demands on the whole man. (104).

The next two woes trace the source of hypocrisy to the inner life and thereby stress the need for inner cleansing. Scribes and Pharisees cleansed the outside of the cup and the plate but

inside they are full of extortion and rapacity. Only when the inside of the cup and plate has been made clean will the outside also be truly clean. Ritual purification of utensils is of no use if they continue to contain the results of extortion and greed (100). Similarly the internal life of a man must be made clean from sin and be committed to God and to whole-hearted obedience to his commandments. Only then will his outward actions be truly pure and therefore acceptable to God because then they will be consistent with his inward state. Inner righteousness is fundamental and to it attention must be primarily addressed (167). It is here that true cleansing begins and that the seeds of true righteousness are sown (108).

This theme is continued in the description of whitewashed tombs which appear outwardly beautifully but are inwardly full of dead man's bones and all uncleanness. Similarly the scribes and Pharisees appear outwardly righteous but are inwardly full of hypocrisy and iniquity. Appearance and underlying reality do not harmonize (109). It is ironic that those who displayed such anxiety to observe the Law are themselves accused of "uncleanness" (akatharsia) - a word specifying the nature of the uncleanness (110) in Matthew 23 v.27. It is the mark of the hypocrite that, despite his outwardly righteous appearance, he rejects in his heart the Law which is an expression of the Father's will (111). It is quite possible to maintain a pious appearance and yet be totally rebellious in the inner life against the Law of God. Therefore external righteousness is not a sure guide to the state of the heart (112).

The close association of hypocrisy (hupokrisis) lawlessness (anomia) in Matthew 23 v.28 throws further light on the nature of "hypocrisy" (113). The association was made earlier, in the LXX where the terms for "act the hypocrite" (hupokrinomai), "hypocrisy" and "hypocrite" are used in connection with the Law.

"Hypocrite" is used to translate the Hebrew word (*haneph*) He is the godless person who by his life and actions has fallen away from God. Significantly the LXX translators restrict the word "Hypocrite" to the godless man and do not use it of the pretender who tries to maintain a righteous appearance. The essence of "hypocrisy" in the LXX is the refusal to fear God and falling away from his Law. The link between "hypocrisy" and "lawlessness" is very evident particularly in the book of Ecclesiasticus where the hypocrite stumbles at the Law and twists it for his own purposes (114)

Among the Gospel writers Matthew alone uses the word "lawlessness" (*anomia*) (115). The word means rejection of the Law and is the opposite of righteousness (116). In three of the four cases the allusion is to the Law as reinterpreted in the commands of Jesus (117), whereas in Matthew 23 v.28 the reference is evidently to the standards of the Mosaic Law (118). The danger of professing disciples being guilty of "lawlessness" is particularly evident in Matthew 7 vv 15-23. Many on "that day" will claim that they have professed the Lordship of Jesus, prophesied and done miracles in his name. But they failed to do God's will. Hence they are told by Jesus "I never knew you" and are driven from his presence as "workers of lawlessness". Where "lawlessness" has particular reference to disobedience to the teaching of Jesus it has a special bearing on his teaching about love. This is evident in the statement referring to the events marking the end of time "and because "lawlessness" is multiplied most men's love will grow cold" (119). Thus lawlessness and lowliness are reciprocal (120). At the end, those practising lawlessness will be gathered out of the kingdom of the Son of Man by his angels (121).

While the use of the term for "lawlessness" in Matthew 24 v.12 may not be absolutely identical

with that in Matthew 23 v.28, it is clear that in both cases an inward condition expressed in attitudes to God and men is meant. Thus in both cases it does not mean rejecting the approach of Pharisaic literalism in its attempt to interpret the Law of Moses (122). "Lawlessness" is failure to obey from the heart the will of God and it is a failure of which both scribes and Pharisees and also some in the Christian community may be guilty (123). Men fall into this condition when they are under the power of Satan who is the personification of all lawlessness (124).

In the final woe (125) the scribes and Pharisees are seen to show their hypocrisy by pretending to venerate the prophets and the righteous men of the past and in disowning murders committed by their ancestors. But they confess not only that they are sons of those murderers - and so in some sense share their guilt (126) but also that they continue to perpetrate their deeds by persecuting contemporary prophets wise men and scribes (i.e. probably present day religious teachers) (127) sent by God. They always in fact oppose true messengers of God. They champion causes which no longer need championing and welcome former "heresies" as orthodoxy, but still resolutely oppose any contemporary who tries to develop the work of those to whom they pay lip service (128). In bringing to completion the evil work begun by their persecuting ancestors their generation will know the fulness of divine judgment (129). Their hypocrisy is therefore again revealed in the glaring discrepancy between their sayings and doings (130).

The final reference to "hypocrite" mentions their punishment which consists of weeping and gnashing of teeth - a punishment which will also be endured by the servant who did not prepare for his master's return (131). (It should be noted, however, that this does not specifically state in the context that the "hypocrites" are scribes and Pharisees. It is a moot point whether Matthew has changed the "unfaithful" of Luke 12v.46 or vice versa.) Thus the ultimate fate of the hypocrite is damnation at

the last judgment (132). If the language used here reflects the terminology of church discipline in Matthew's church, it is possible that discipline was in fact influenced by excommunication practice in the Qumran community (133).

This review of the evidence indicates that the hypocrite is essentially someone who in heart has fallen away from God and has no true inward regard for his Law. While claiming to obey the Law he does not understand its true meaning and function. In claiming that he obeys God's will he is actually maintaining its anti-thesis. Inwardly he is full of moral corruption which is a sharp contradiction to his external appearance of piety. His is the wickedness of the godless man. It is this concept of hypocrisy which lies at the heart of Jesus' indictment of the Pharisees and from it envy other aspects of hypocrisy flow.

Lacking any true love of God he seeks to cultivate the honour and glory which belong to God alone by drawing attention to himself through parading in his role as an actor, his goodworks and through his seeking prominence among men. This recognition and admiration will be the only reward he will get for there is no reward to be given to him by God at the end. The hypocrite with his external piety lacks a true righteousness and a piety which has its source in the heart, and a true love for men for their own sake.

The distorted ethical perspective has other baneful effects in addition. The hypocrite lives a life of pretence and he prevents others from entering the kingdom as well as excluding himself. He turns others into being sons of Gehenna twice as much as he is in himself. He does not practise the basic precepts of the Law

in his relationship with others and makes serious errors of judgment as he imagines he is better than his fathers, though in fact he shares their guilt. Finally in his spiritual blindness he even seeks to ensnare Jesus himself - a teacher whose ministry rests on divine authority.

He is quite blind to the significance of Jesus. While he can interpret the appearance of the sky but cannot interpret the signs of the time (133) Matthew's statement is addressed to Pharisees and Sadducees. The parallel statement in Luke 12 v.56 is addressed to the multitudes (134).

Behind this moral condition, there lies a fundamental misunderstanding of the relationship between God and men, and the place of the Law in that relationship.

The Pharisees' focus was not on God but on themselves and so the Law was practised in their own self interest and not in the service of God. The misuse was not an occasional lapse from high ideals but was a total misuse of the Law in every way. The Law was not something to which they submitted out of obedience to God but was something to be manipulated for their own advantage. Its 613 commandments together with the fence created by their casuistic stipulations which had the same authority, as the Law itself, formed a completely performable list of commandments and prohibitions. Furthermore no distinction was drawn between the relative value of moral and ritualistic requirements, and human traditions were permitted to deny the very commandments of God. Absorption in minutiae led to the neglect of central principles. Scant regard was given to inner motives and the priority of basic character above external conduct was ignored. Adherence to the Law as they understood it earned merit and determined men's acceptance by God. God's love and grace were not the inspiration of morality and they were not seen as the means whereby it would be practised. By religious pursuits the claims

of God to complete commitment to him were evaded. Since it was an end in itself the Law was no longer a guide to the will of God, and the divine purpose behind the Law, e.g., in giving the Sabbath, was overlooked. As the central place which God should occupy was overlooked human achievement and human approval were now of supreme importance. In the practice of religion they had lost the heart of religion. They were the representatives of practical atheism masquerading as piety. Of the teaching of the Pharisees and Sadducees the disciples must beware(135).

Matthew's rejoinder to this situation is found in his positive teaching about true righteousness and the primacy of the love commandments. He places his ethical teaching in the wider context of the Gospel. It is applicable to those who are delivered from Satan's power and who are now in God's kingdom, whose sins are forgiven and who are now the sons of God. In other words it represents the conduct of those who are the true disciples of Jesus (136). Henceforth man's relationship to God depends on his response to Jesus and so the Law is deposed from its position of mediation (137).

The disciples are to obey the Law as established and reinterpreted by Jesus. In the process Jesus not only rejects the oral tradition and reaffirms the authority of the Old Testament but he goes on to develop its deeper meaning. This reinterpretation is done in the light of the primary of the commandments of love. The result is the rejection of legalistic requirements of an external code devised by casuists as a means of obtaining merit. It is not concerned even with external actions which are good in themselves. The supreme concern is with the inner condition, the state of the heart and the purity of the motive, for character is of more significance than activity (138).

Notes:

1. U. Wilckens, hupokrisis, TDNT, Vol 8, p568.
2. Matthew, 6.2,5,16; 7.5 etc; the noun hupokrisis is found on one occasion (23.27).
3. Psalms of Solomon, 4.7,25
4. Didache 8.1
5. S. Johnson, Interpreter's Bible, Vol 7, 306
6. P. Bonnard, L'Evangile selon saint Mathieu, (Neuchâtel 1970), p78
7. Matt 6.2,5,16
8. Tobit 12.8
9. E. Schweizer, Matthew (ET), (London 1976), pp142f
10. W. Tilborg, The Jewish Leaders in Matthew, (Leiden 1972), p8
11. Tilborg, op.cit.
12. T.W. Manson, The Sayings of Jesus, (London 1954) pp164-166
13. D. Hill, Matthew, London 1972, p133
14. Hill, op.cit., 132f
15. Tilborg, op.cit. pp11,13
16. Bonnard, op.cit. p78
17. Matthew 5.21 etc
18. W. Gutbrod, TDNT, Vol 4 p1063 (on nomos)
19. Matt 5.16
20. Matt 15.1-8
21. Bonnard, op.cit. p228
22. F. Filson, Matthew, (London 1960), p177
23. Luke links hypocrisy with panourgia in the parallel account (20.23)
24. Gundry, op.cit. p443
25. Matt 22.15
26. Wilckens, op.cit. p.565
27. Bonnard, op.cit. p333
28. Gundry, op.cit. p453
29. Bonnard, op.cit. p333
30. Hill, op.cit. pp309f
31. B. Green, Matthew, (Oxford 1975), p189
32. Tilborg, op.cit. pp25f
33. A.H. McNeile, Matthew, (London, 1915), p60
34. Matt 7.15-23
35. Hill, op.cit. pp150-153

Notes:

36. Matt 12.11; 15.3f etc.
37. TIM p24
38. Matt 23.3
39. W.D. Davies, The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount, Cambridge 1964, p106
40. E. Schweizer, op.cit. pp430,437
41. Davies, op.cit. p106
42. R. Banks, Jesus and the Law in the Synoptic Tradition, (Cambridge 1975),p176
43. Matt 23.4
44. Johnson, op.cit.,p529
45. Gundry, op.cit.,p456
46. J. Fenton, Matthew (Pelican 1963),p369
47. Matt 11.30
48. Hill, op.cit. p310
49. Matt 11.28f
50. Tilborg, op.cit.p17
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53. E. Schweizer, op.cit.p431
54. Matt 23.8-12
55. Matt 23.13,15,16 etc.
56. Filson, op.cit.,p244
57. Fenton, op.cit.368
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59. Cf Bonnard, op.cit.p337
60. Matt 23.16
61. For a discussion of origins, see Bonnard, op.cit. pp337f
62. Matt 23.13
63. Matt 21.32
64. Hill, op.cit. p311
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66. Josephus, Ant 20.2,4
67. T.W. Manson, Sayings, pp233f
68. Gundry, op.cit. p461.
69. Hill, op.cit. p312.
70. Matt 23.16-21
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72. Hill, op.cit. p312.
73. Filson, op.cit. p246
74. Goppelt, op.cit. Vol 1, p85.

75. Matt 23.23f
76. Luke 11.42
77. Bonnard, op.cit. p339
78. Lev 27.30; Num 18.21 etc.
79. Hill, op.cit. pp312f
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82. Fenton, op.cit. p372
83. eg Matt 15.1-8
84. Schweizer, op.cit. p434
85. McNeile, op.cit. p335
86. Banks. op.cit. p180
87. Micah 6.8; see also Zecj 7.9-10
88. Bonnard, op.cit. p339
89. Cf Matt 5.21
90. Cf Matt 10.15
91. Bonnard, op.cit. p339
92. Luke 11.42
93. Matt 22.39
94. Gundry, op.cit. p464
95. Manson, Sayings, p236
96. Matt 5.7; 6.12,14; 9.13 etc.
97. Filson, op.cit. p246
98. Matt 6.25-34; 17.20;21.20f etc.
99. Matt 8.10,13; 9.2,22,28f etc.
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101. Banks, op.cit. p178
102. B. Gerhardsson, Ethos, p43
103. Schweizer, op.cit. p442
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105. Matt 23.25-28
106. Bonnard, op.cit. p341
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108. Cf quotations from Schniewind in Bonnard,
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114. Sirach 32,15; 33.2
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117. Matt 7.23; 12.31
118. Banks op.cit. p221
119. Matt 24.12; Green op.cit. p199
120. Gutbrod, op.cit. p1063
121. Matt 13.41
122. Schweizer, op.cit. p451
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125. Matt 23.29-36
126. Fenton, op.cit. p376
127. Manson, op.cit. p239
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129. Matt 23.35-36
130. cf Matt 23.3
131. cf Matt 24.51
132. Schweizer, op.cit. p463
133. Matt 16.3
134. Tilborg, op.cit. p16,22-25
135. Matt 15.22; Gutbrod, op.cit. pp1063 f
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A BIBLE MYSTERY: THE ABSENCE OF JEREMIAH IN THE DEUTERONOMISTIC HISTORY.

Christopher T. Begg.

Introduction:

The Bible, all might agree, is a tantalizing book. It tantalizes in what it relates, and perhaps even more in what it leaves unsaid. A case in point is the account of Judah's last decades in 2 Kings 22-25. Here, amazingly in view of the presentation of the Book of Jeremiah where the prophet appears as a prominent figure during this period, Jeremiah is not so much as mentioned. This state of affairs tantalizes in that while the fact itself seems so demand of explanation, it at the same time resists definitive resolution. No explanation can claim to be anything more than a somewhat plausible surmise. It is then with all diffidence that we proffer the following remarks concerning this old puzzle.

The puzzle is, of course, one in which a variety of problems come into play. Among such problems we may mention: (1) the mystery of the missing Jeremiah in Kings is part of a wider mystery, i.e., why, apart from Isaiah (see 2 Kgs 18:17-20:19),¹ does the Deuteronomistic History (hereafter Dtr) as a whole nowhere refer to the "classical prophets"?² (2) the composition history of both Dtr and the book of Jeremiah is highly controverted; (3) the nature of the literary relationship between the two complexes (and their respective compositional levels) is likewise a matter of dispute.³

It is not, of course, possible for us to provide solutions to these wider questions here. Moreover, we may, we believe, proceed with our inquiry (largely) abstracting from them. We may do so because, whatever views on them one adopts, several points do seem clear. First of all, Jeremiah's status as "non-person" in Dtr is much more cause for wonderment than the Deuteronomist's non-mention of e.g. Amos (however this later fact be explained). The two problems are not at all the same

level. Unlike the much earlier Amos, Jeremiah was a (slightly older) contemporary of the Deuteronomist and the audience for whom he wrote.¹⁴ As such, Jeremiah would surely have had an interest for the Deuteronomist and his readers far greater than those various earlier classical prophets whom he also passes over. In addition the book of Jeremiah attests-- and it is hardly credible that its presentation is devoid of all historical basis-- to a significant and extended activity by Jeremiah during Judah's critical final decades. In fact, the only classical prophet to have enjoyed a comparable importance in the affairs of his day was Isaiah--significantly the one such prophet cited by the Deuteronomist. Also from this point of view then Jeremiah would seem to have every claim to mention in Dtr. Finally, Jeremiah's absence in Dtr seems all the more remarkable when one notes the significant role accorded him in subsequent Jewish historical literature; see 2 Chron 35-36; 1 Esdras 1; Sir 49:6-7; 2 Macc 2:1-8; Josephus, Antiquities, Book X.

The foregoing considerations entail a further point, i.e., it is highly unlikely that the Deuteronomist's failure to mention Jeremiah is due simply to his not knowing of his existence (or his knowing him as a mere name). To say this is not necessarily to affirm that the Deuteronomist knew the book of Jeremiah in either its present or a hypothetical earlier form. What does strain belief is rather that the Deuteronomist, whether writing in the land or in the Diaspora, lacked awareness of Jeremiah's major role in Judah's last years, either through personal recollection or view other Jews among whom he lived!⁵

The above point has an obvious corolly. If simple "ignorance" cannot account for the Deuteronomist's non-mention of Jeremiah, then this fact is only explicable as a deliberate option on his part. In other words, there was some feature(s) to the figure of Jeremiah known to the Deuteronomist which made reference to him inappropriate or undesirable given the Deuteronomist's purposes. What

then could this feature have been?

Status Questionis

In order to situate our own proposal (as well as to fill a forschungsgeschichtlich lacuna) we begin by surveying previous scholarly suggestions on the question. A first recognition which emerges from such a survey is that the problem of Dtr's non-mention of Jeremiah (and of the classical prophets overall) has not received the deliberate, sustained attention that might have been expected. Moreover, even among authors who do comment on the problem, many confine themselves to the matter of Jeremiah's absence in the account of 2 Kings 22 where the prophetic figure consulted is rather Huldah. In so doing these authors leave out of consideration, however, what seems to be the greater mystery, i.e., the non-mention of Jeremiah in the whole post-Josianic period of Judah's history (2 Kings 23:31-25:30) given that, according to the book of Jeremiah, it was during this period --- as opposed to Josiah's own reign --- that the prophet enjoyed a special prominence.

Still, there are a number of authors who have proffered suggestions concerning the overall question of Jeremiah's absence in 2 Kings 22:25 as a whole. In our consideration of these authors, we shall first treat those whose comments are more summary, and thereafter those who address the question in extenso.

Within the first category cited, we may distinguish a first group of authors working prior to the quasi-universal acceptance of M. Noth's theory of the Deuteronomist. These authors provide an indirect explanation for Jeremiah's absence in Kings. They do this in connection with their defense of the Talmudic tradition (baba bathra 15a) that Jeremiah authored the book of Kings. Specifically, they aver that acceptance of Jeremianic authorship makes understandable the prophet's otherwise puzzling absence in Kings since modesty would

have caused Jeremiah to pass over his own role in the events he narrates there.⁶ Already prior to Noth, this theory of Jeremiah's authorship of Kings had, of course, been increasingly abandoned, even by conservative scholars.⁷ Those doing so, however, rarely attempted to provide an alternative explanation for Jeremiah's absence in Kings.⁸ In any case, though, we note this first view simply as a curiosity of exegetical history since it has no adherents today.

A variant to the above view is that of E. Renan. Renan regards the final redactor of Kings and Jeremiah as identical. In accordance with this supposition, he affirms that his redactor wanted to avoid repeating in one book what he relates in another, and so has relegated everything concerning Jeremiah to the book bearing his name.⁹ Likewise this view is one without contemporary support as such. It may, however, be noted that various recent authors, while not subscribing to the identification made by Renan, do advocate a view comparable to his, i.e., the Deuteronomist, presuming material on Jeremiah to be available to his readers in a Deuteronomistic edition of his words, felt it unnecessary to say anything about the prophet is his own work.¹⁰ Militating against such an explanation is, however, the consideration that the Deuteronomist, as his source indications in Kings suggest, does in fact incorporate into his own work material that was otherwise available -- why then should he not have done the same in the case of Jeremiah (and the other classical prophets)?

This brings us to a consideration of Noth's view on the question, Noth explains the general omission of the writing prophets in Dtr by postulating that these figures -- given their unwelcome announcements of doom -- were not mentioned in the royal annals, the Deuteronomist's main source for the royal period.¹¹ Specifically concerning the case of Jeremiah, Noth suggests that, whereas the Deuteronomist did draw on

Jeremiah 39-41 for his presentation in 2 Kings 25:1-26, he has eliminated from that source everything relating to Jeremiah since here his account concerns itself solely with figures holding official positions.^{/12}

Particularly for what concerns Jeremiah, Noth's view leaves unresolved questions. Why, e.g. would the Deuteronomist have limited his attention, in 2 Kings 25, to official figures, whereas he does not do this elsewhere? Similarly, in the presentation of Jeremiah 39-41 does not Jeremiah, in fact, appear in a quasi-official role?

None of the proposals reviewed so far reckons with conscious "ideological" factors behind Dtr's silence concerning Jeremiah. The first author, to our knowledge, to advance such an explanation was J. Klausner in a modern Hebrew contribution written in 1953.^{/13} According to Klausner, it was lingering animosity over the "pro-Babylonian" policy espoused by Jeremiah among the circles responsible for the book of Kings which prompted their omitting him from their presentation. Subsequent scholarship seems virtually unaware of Klausner's suggestion; we shall comment on it when we come to mention a more recent author who has briefly (and without reference to Klausner) pointed to the same factor as responsible for Jeremiah's absence in Dtr.

Another author invoking "ideological" considerations for Jeremiah's mission in Dtr is S. Granild writing in 1963.^{/14} In Granild's view, Jeremiah, for a variety of reasons, was a persona non grata to most adherents of the "Deuteronomic movement," i.e., the priests and prophets of Jerusalem who produced and promoted the book of Deuteronomy and eventually compiled Dtr. As such, he was passed over by them when they came to recount

Judah's final decades. Among factors which Granild identifies at work in this antagonism is, first of all, the fact of Jeremiah's stemming from the "priests of Anathoth." Such origins made him an object of suspicion to the Zadokite Jerusalem priesthood which had succeeded to its position upon Solomon's expulsion of Abiathar to Anathoth--an event depicted in Dtr as divinely foreordained -- see 1 Kings 2:26-27; 1 Sam 2:27-36. Jeremiah further antagonized the "Deuteronomists" with his criticisms of their confidence in the external realities of law-book and Temple as well as of their selective, self-interested application of deuteronomy's provisions, particularly in the matter of the priestly rights of the country Levites with whom Jeremiah would have made common cause (see 2 Kings 23:9 and compare Deut 18:6-8).

Granild's proposals have, we believe, much to recommend them. They too, however, have their difficulties. In particular, one wonders if Granild does not exaggerate the various oppositions between Jeremiah and the "Deuteronomists" which he evokes to explain the former's absence in Dtr. Thus, e.g., like Jeremiah in his "Temple Speech" (Jer 7:26), the Deuteronomist can envisage the destruction of the Temple; see 1 Kings 9:6-9. Further, Granild himself notes that the combined evidence of 2 Kings 22 and the book of Jeremiah points to a positive relationship existing between the prophet and certain prominent "Deuteronomists" (the family of Saphan in particular). How was it then that such pro-Jeremiah figures failed to get mention of him when Dtr came to be compiled?

At this point in our survey, we turn to a consideration of two recent, more detailed treatments of the problem of Jeremiah's absence in Kings. The earlier of these discussions is that of K.-F. Pohlmann/¹⁵ For Pohlmann, the Deuteronomist leaves Jeremiah unmentioned primarily because, in the traditions about the prophet

known to him, Jeremiah appears as advocate for those left in the land as bearers of Jewish hopes, whereas the Deuteronomist's own expectations (as well as those of the later redactors of Jeremiah's words) focused on Jews living Babylon. Pohlmann's view here obviously stands or falls with his positions on several wider questions. Those positions do, however, have their difficulties. Specifically, there do not seem to be decisive indications for deciding between Palestine and Babylon as the place of composition for Dtr, as several recent authors have noted.¹⁶ Were Pohlmann's views on this point correct, one might well expect that the Deuteronomist would relate more concerning Jewish life in Babylon in the years between 597 and 562 in 2 Kings 24-25. Note too that the one "Babylonian event" recorded by him, i.e., the release of Jehoiachin (2 Kings 25:27-30) would surely have been of concern to all Jews -- wherever they might have been living. Accordingly, his inclusion of this episode is no sure indication that the Deuteronomist was writing among and on behalf of Babylonian Jews.

It is likewise questionable whether Pohlmann is correct in opposing, within the book of Jeremiah, an older, ultimately, "authentic" tradition centred on those remaining in the land as bearers of Jewish future hopes and a later redaction which focused on the Babylonian Jews and denied any salvific role for the remnant in the land. Why could not Jeremiah himself have addressed words of encouragement/promises of survival at one time to those left in the land (e.g., 32:6-15) and at another to the Jews in Babylon (e.g., 29:5-7), as many indisputably "critical" authors hold.¹⁷ Is it furthermore plausible that a "redactor" would have ventured to make Jeremiah mouthpiece for a view directly contradictory to the prophet's known conviction as to the group with whom Jewish future hopes lay? Conceivably, of course, he may have done this, but then why should not the Deuteronomist himself have done the same thing and

thereby made Jeremiah suitable for mention in his (purportedly) Diaspora-oriented work? In view of such questions, Pohlmann's attempt remains less than fully satisfying.

Our second author, writing with a knowledge of and in reaction to Pohlmann, is K. Koch.¹⁸ As the title of his article indicates, Koch wants to develop an explanation for the absence, not just of Jeremiah, but of all the classical prophets (apart from Isaiah) in Dtr; in this connection he criticizes Pohlmann for confining his attention simply to the case of Jeremiah. Likewise rejecting Pohlmann's premise concerning the composition of Dtr in Babylon and its Diaspora-centred future hopes, Koch advances several considerations of his own which would help make understandable Dtr's (conscious) "Profetenschweigen." A first such consideration he adduces is that whereas the prophets mentioned in Dtr are triumphant figures (see, e.g., Elisha), the classical prophets as known to us from their own words (with which Koch supposes the Deuteronomist to have been acquainted) were hardly so. In other words, the classical prophets did not correspond to the Deuteronomist's image of the "true prophet" and so he passes them over.¹⁹ A second consideration, to which Koch himself ultimately attaches little weight, is that the Deuteronomist may have found the classical prophets' words of doom for Israel/Judah too "radical" given his own more hopeful outlook for the nation. Of primary significance for Koch is rather another opposition between the Deuteronomist's conception concerning prophets and the classical prophets themselves, i.e., whereas the former, especially in his programmatic text 2 Kings 17:13-14, views the prophet primarily as "preacher of repentance," "the pre-Exilic classical prophets (including Jeremiah spoke of "repentance" simply as a lost opportunity in Israel's past. Given this divergence, the Deuteronomist would not have been inclined to incorporate the classical prophets known to him in his work.

Koch's proposals evoke a number of remarks. In the first place, we question, as indicated above, whether the Deuteronomist's non-mention of Jeremiah should be subsumed under the more general Profetenschweigen in Dtr as Koch does. Again, Koch's initial opposition between Dtr's triumphant, all-masterful prophets and the forlorn failures presented us in the "prophetic books" seems much overdrawn and so of dubious relevance as an explanator factor. Dtr's various "prophetic figures," e.g., Moses, Samuel, "the man of God from Judah" (1 Kings 13), Elijah and Elisha all experience rejection, persecution and self-doubt. It is then not at all clear that the Deuteronomist really does work with a "triumphalistic" image of the prophet to the extent claimed by Koch. Conversely, various of the classical prophets' words bespeak a self-assurance very much in line with the prophetic image Koch attributes to the Deuteronomist; see e.g., Mic 3:8; Amos 7:15-17; Jer 1:10. Also from this perspective, it is difficult to see why the Deuteronomist would have been adverse to incorporating such figures.

Questions likewise suggest themselves concerning Koch's opposing Dtr and the classical prophets on the matter of the centrality of the call to repentance to the prophet's activity. To begin with the latter, it has initially to be noted that the question whether the pre-exilic classical prophets (up to and including Jeremiah) preached repentance as a possibility for their hearers and something capable of still having an effect on Yahweh has been a matter of intense controversy for over three decades now. Playing into this general problems are, of course, a whole range of sub-problems: the "authenticity" of the relevant passages in the prophetic books, the delimitation and classification of the units within which the apparent references exhortations to repentance in this material originally stood as well as their intended function. On

these points, Koch in this study, as well as in other publications, mostly aligns himself with the approach advocated especially by H.W. Wolff for whom the pre-exilic classical prophets basically did not speak of repentance as a "live option" for their audience.^{/20} Over against this view stands, however, that of a large group of scholars, headed by G. Fohrer, who do see the call to repentance as a significant element in the preaching of these prophets.^{/21}

It is, of course, not possible for us to resolve this wider controversy here. It may, however, be safely said that both sides have pressed the evidence in the interest of their respective theories. Wolff and others appear intent on eliminating--by whatever means-- any suggestion that the pre-exilic classical prophets ever addressed a seriously intended call to repentance to their audiences. Conversely, Fohrer and his followers seem to lay undue emphasis on the rather infrequent "exhortations" in the pre-exilic prophetic books. Trying to reconcile the two extremes, we might suggest, with several recent writers on the controversy, that while the call to repentance is not at the forefront of these prophets' words, it is not completely absent there; see e.g., Amos 5:4-7, 14-15; Josea 10:12; 14:1-3; Isaiah 1: 16-20, etc.^{/22} In any event, passages like those just cited certainly do lend themselves to being understood in this way, as indicated by the fact that numerous scholars have done so right up till the present. But then, the question arises: if, as Koch supposes, the Deuteronomist knew the words of the pre-exilic classical prophets and if (again so Koch) he approached those words with a fixed notion of the prophet as "preacher of repentance," would he not very naturally have interpreted such texts as exhortations to repentance, thereby making their authors fit for incorporation into his work?

In the foregoing we have been speaking of the problem of whether or not the pre-exilic classical prophets in general preached repentance. The problem takes on special

acuity, however, in the case of Jeremiah in that even authors who hesitate to admit a preaching of repentance. The problem takes on special acuity, however, in the case of Jeremiah in that even authors who hesitate to admit a preaching of repentance by, e.g., Amos or Isaiah, do reckon with the presence of this element in the authentic words of Jeremiah; see, e.g., Jeremiah 3:12,14, 22; 4:1; 23:22.²³ Such a recognition implies, however, that even if Koch's supposition holds for the other pre-exilic classical prophets, it becomes less plausible precisely with regard to Jeremiah. Of all the pre-exilic classical prophets, it is Jeremiah whose words would have most corresponded to the Deuteronomist's (purported) image of the prophet as "preacher of repentance." On Koch's premises then his exclusion from Dtr becomes all the more difficult to understand.

Conversely, however, it must be questioned whether the "call to repentance" and the conception of the prophet primarily as one who makes that call is really as central/integral to Dtr overall as Koch supposes. In this connection we note first that the most explicit treatments of the repentance in Dtr, i.e., Deut 4:25-28; 30:1-10; 1 Kings 8:46-53, are widely attributed to a secondary (and relatively small-scale Deuteronomistic stratum (note too that one of these appeals 1 Kings 8:46ff., is placed on the lips of a figure, Solomon, who is not a prophetic Gestalt in Dtr as such).²⁴ It is likewise to be noted that the theme "repentance" is not all that prominent in the words of the prophets recorded in Dtr, whether these be taken over from his sources or composed by him. In other words: 2 Kings 17:13-14 notwithstanding, Dtr's prophets do not, in fact, function as preachers of repentance to any marked extent (1 Sam 7:3 is an exception).²⁵ This consideration

takes on added significance when we note that the Deuteronomist repeatedly introduces prophetic speeches of his own composition (1 Kings 14:7-11, 14,16; 16:1-4; 21:20b-24; 2 Kings 21:10-15; 22:15-20) where he would have had the opportunity to present exhortations to repentance were this something of crucial importance to him. In these speeches what we find, however, are rather announcements of irrevocable doom. There is then no opposition between the content of the prophetic message as formulated by the Deuteronomist and that which Koch claims to be the core message of the classical prophets. Finally, it might be pointed out that the formulation of 2 Kings 17:13-14 itself speaks of the inefficacy of the prophets' repeated summons to repentance; here too there is a correspondence-- rather than a divergency--between the Deuteronomist's presentation and the classical prophets who often refer to their lack of success in promoting repentance; see, e.g., Amos 4:6-12; Isaiah 30:15; Jer 5:3; 8:5-6; 15:7; 23:14.

In light of the above, it becomes questionable whether 2 Kings 17:13-14 can be taken as the key to the Deuteronomist's understanding of "prophecy" and a fortiori to his omission of the classical prophets as does Koch. On the contrary, the passages might well derive from a (isolated) secondary Deuteronomistic hand, as several contemporary authors hold.²⁶ If this is the case, the question arises: why should not the earlier, primary Deuteronomistic redaction, with its view of the prophets as announcers of inescapable disaster (see 2 Kings 17:13-14 which coheres much better with the actual content of the Deuteronomistic prophetic speeches than does 2 Kings 17:13-14) have incorporated the classical prophets who, according to Koch, correspond to this conception? and even if 2 Kings 17:13-14 be regarded as integral to the primary Deuteronomistic redaction, it simply does not have such significance for Dtr's presentation of the prophets overall that it would have precluded the Deuteronomist's inclusion of the classical prophets who, in other respects, seem so serviceable for his purposes.

Reference finally might be made here to the views of I.L.Seeligmann.^{/27} Seeligmann does not directly pronounce on the problem of the classical prophets' absence in Dtr, although he alludes to the matter repeatedly. At the same time, however, he does pose the premises for an answer to the question which would run directly counter to that of Koch. According to him, the call to repentance is especially characteristic for the classical prophets, whereas in Dtr. (the late, isolated 2 Kings 17:13-14 excepted), prophets rather proclaim inevitable doom. Such views obviously imply an answer to our question just the opposite of Koch's, i.e., the Deuteronomist passed over the classical prophets because their emphasis on repentance as an actual possibility contradicted his view of the prophet's role. The fact, however, that another scholar can thus interpret both the classical prophets and the Deuteronomist's view of prophecy in precisely the opposite way to Koch does not enhance one's confidence in the latter's construction.

To round off our discussion of Koch, we might note the summary remarks of P. Höffken.^{/28} Höffken begins by asking whether Dtr's non-mention of the classical prophets in general need be so "theologiegeladen" a matter as Koch would have it. He then goes on to suggest, specifically for the case of Jeremiah, that "political" considerations may have influenced the Deuteronomist's passing him over, i.e., Jeremiah's known pro-Babylonian stance as well as his exaltation of the Babylonian Exiles at the expense of those who remained in the land.

Höffken's second factor above represents, we note, a striking reversal of Pohlmann's view. As to his first factor, which, we recall, had already been suggested by Klausner, we might begin by accepting with Pohlmann the historical veracity of the trad-

ition of our book of Jeremiah that the prophet adopted a "pro-Babylonian" stance in the sense that he enjoined submission to Babylon as Yahweh's appointed agent in chastising Judah: such a feature is not likely to be a later tendentious invention.²⁹ The question is though whether the Deuteronomist would find this a reason for excluding the prophet from his presentation. In this connection we note that the Deuteronomist has incorporated (or himself composed) a word attributed to Isaiah about the coming Babylonian despoilation of Judah in 2 Kings 20:17-18, a word for which he supplies a fulfillment notice in 24:13. We likewise note that 2 Kings 24:2 speaks of Yahweh's dispatching, during Jehoiakim's reign, "bands of Chaldeans . . . according to the word . . . which he spoke by his servants the prophets." In both instances then the Babylonians appear as executioners of Yahweh's purposes against Judah. Note finally that, nowhere in 2 Kings 24-25, do we find the Deuteronomist making any explicitly critical remarks concerning the measures perpetuated by the Babylonians against Jerusalem in 597 and 587. Accordingly, the Deuteronomist's outlook concerning the Babylonians does not seem to have been all that different from Jeremiah's own; for him too they were Yahweh's designated instruments for the punishment of Jerusalem. And so, it appears questionable whether Jeremiah's pro-Babylonian posture would have been a reason for the Deuteronomist to exclude mention of him from his work.

At the same time however, Höffken's reference to possible "political" grounds for Jeremiah's absence in Dtr does call to mind another sort of "political" divergence between Jeremiah and the "Deuteronomists" which H. Cazelles has recently brought to bear, albeit cursorily, on the question of this study.³⁰ The opposition here would revolve around the problem of monarchical legitimacy in Judah in the years after 597. Jeremiah, for his part, dismissed any future kingly prospects for

the deposed Jehoiachin and his line (see Jer 22:24-30), but articulated a rather more favourable outlook regarding Zedekiah (see, e.g., Jer 34:4; 38:17). In this he stands at odds with the stance underlying the presentation of 2 Kings 25, however. Here, the Deuteronomist first relates the Babylonians' terminating royal prospects for Zedekiah's line by killing his three sons and incapacitating Zedekiah himself by blinding him (25:6-7) and then, in a climatic concluding segment (25:27-30), narrates the Babylonian release of Jehoiachin -- significantly designated as "king of Judah." ^{/31} In line with these observations, Cazelles suggests that the Deuteronomist has passed over Jeremiah because of the divergence between them regarding which royal line had the legitimate claim to future rule.

Cazelles' suggestion does, we believe, have a certain validity. At the same time, certain qualifications seem called for. Thus, while the Deuteronomist does seem to envisage the definitive elimination of monarchical prospects for Zedekiah's line, his outlook regarding the house of Jehoiachin and its future is more ambiguous. Here it might be noted that the Deuteronomist, notwithstanding the fact of his reigning only three months does not fail to apply to Jehoiachin one of his condemnatory notices (2 Kings 24:8), he had then no very high estimate of the character of this king. Similarly, the formulation in 2 Kings 25:30 could suggest what is explicit in the parallel text Jer 52:34, i.e., Jehoiachin had already died by the time the Deuteronomist wrote; if so, the account in 25:27-30 becomes simply, as Noth understood it, the record of

one last past episode -- rather than an intimation of the Deuteronomist's future hopes. Note too the absence of any mention of Jehoiachin's sons (known us from 1 Chron 3:17-18) in 25:27ff. This omission could imply that the measures of Evil-merodach enumerated were acts of beneficence for Jehoiachin personally, but not involving any commitment to provide for his descendants. On all these grounds then, we question whether the Deuteronomist should be seen as one who fastened his hopes and loyalty on Jehoiachin's line.

We likewise question whether there is clear evidence that Jeremiah entertained any very different view of Zedekiah and his prospects than he did in the case of Jehoiachin. In this regard we note that Jeremiah's promise of deliverance to Zedekiah in Jer 38:17 is a conditional one -- a condition which the king does not meet. Likewise the oracle of 34:4 speaks only of Zedekiah's dying "in peace" and being duly buried. Conversely, there are strongly negative/critical words to and about Zedekiah in, e.g., 32:4; 34:21; 38:23.

In view of all the above, it seems questionable whether Jeremiah and the "Deuteronomists" should be opposed as proponents of Zedekiah and Jehoiachin, respectively. On the other hand, it is possible that Jeremiah's word of 22:24-30 writing off any prospects for Jehoiachin's house, did cause problems for the Deuteronomist who does, in any case, conclude his whole account with a description of an upswing in this king's personal fortunes, and so contributed to his decision to leave the prophet unmentioned.

Finally, reference might be made here to another possible "political" factor behind the Deuteronomist's non-reference to Jeremiah. The factor involves the divergent conceptions concerning the status and prospect

of the inhabitants of the former Northern Kingdom in Dtr and the words of Jeremiah to which M. Cogan has called attention.³² In the former (see especially 2 Kings 17) Israel, in the wake of 721, is depicted as having been totally depopulated, its inhabitants replaced with idolatrous foreigners having no claim to Yahweh's favour. Jeremiah, on the contrary, holds out to the Northerners the prospect that Yahweh is now ready once again to accept them (Jer 3:6-14;31). Although Cogan himself does not draw this conclusion, it could be that remembrance of Jeremiah's favourable posture towards the reprobate Northerners likewise influenced the Deuteronomist to exclude him from his work.

Our Proposal

After the foregoing survey, we now turn to a presentation of a factor, not referred to as such by any of the authors treated, which, we think, may be of relevance for our question. Our starting point here is the depiction of the prophet in the book of Jeremiah. In a recent article, S.E. Balentine has attempted a "reassessment" of the widely held view that "intercession" was a routine activity of Israelite prophets in general.³³ The interest of this article for our purposes lies in its showing that, whatever may be the case for other OT prophets, the book of Jeremiah does frequently introduce references to "intercession" in its presentation of the prophet; see, e.g., 7:16; 11:14; 14:11; 21:2; 27:18; 37:3; 42:2. Given, however, Balentine's evidence that "intercession" was not, in fact, something typical for Israel's prophets overall, the book's use of intercession terminology with respect to Jeremiah cannot, in its entirety, be viewed simply as a standard prophetic topos which a redactor might readily have applied to

him on his own account. This element must, rather, have some basis in Jeremiah's own activity.

The foregoing discussions has implications for the question of the Deuteronomist's handling of the figure of Jeremiah. For supposing that "intercession" was a significant feature of the ministry of the historical Jeremiah, then this feature would undoubtedly have been part of the information available to the Deuteronomist about the prophet. As we shall now try to indicate, however, it was, we believe, precisely his awareness concerning Jeremiah's engagement as "intercessor" which helps explain the Deuteronomist's exclusion of him from his work.

The foregoing statement, we are aware, might occasion some initial surprise. Because, in fact, Jeremiah's intercessory activity as known to the Deuteronomist seems at first sight something that he would have found quite congenial and usable for his purposes. This is so given the presence in Dtr of a whole series of "intercessions" undertaken by "prophetic figures" in the face of potential or actual calamity threatening individuals or the people; see Deut 9:18-25 (Moses); Jos 7:6-9 (Joshua); 1 Sam 7:6; 12:19 (Samuel); 1 Kings 13:6 (the man of God from Judah); 2 Kings 19:4 (Isaiah); cf. also the royal intercessions in 1 Kings 8:27-53; 2 Kings 13:4 as well as the appeals (self-intercessions) by the people (Judg 10:10-15) and Hezekiah (2 Kings 19:15-19; 20:2-3).³⁴ In view of this strong accentuation of the intercession motif throughout Dtr, the Deuteronomist might appear to have had every reason to incorporate the Jeremiah whom the tradition presented to him as a great intercessory figure. Accordingly, our invocation of Jeremiah's intercessory activity as key to the Deuteronomist's non-mention of him seems to exacerbate rather than to resolve the problem.

At this point, however, a further precision concerning Dtr needs to be introduced. Whereas the Deuteronomist does relate intercessions/appeals through

the bulk of his history, this element is strikingly absent just where it would seem most appropriate and expected, i.e., the account of Judah's so troubled final decades in 2 Kings 22-25. The following indications may be noted in this regard: Josiah, notwithstanding his realization of the threat hanging over his people for their disregard of the terms of the law-book that has been found (2 Kings 22:13), makes no attempt to address a word of intercession to Yahweh on their behalf. In this he stands in contrast with various of Dtr's kings who do undertake intercessions in the face of some threat (Solomon, 1 Kings 8:27ff.; Jehochaz, 2 Kgs 13:4; Hezekiah, 2 Kings 19:15-19, cf. 20:2-3). Similarly, in his instructions to the delegation he dispatches Josiah refrains from directing them to request an intercession from the one to whom they will go. His directive is simply: "inquire of the Lord for me . . . concerning the words of this book . . ." (22:13). Further to be noted is, that, in her response in 2 Kings 22:15-20, the prophetess Huldah does not herself take the initiative in making intercession for the people, as do several of Dtr's earlier prophetic figures, e.g., Moses, Joshua, Samuel, the Judean man of God and Isaiah. Both Josiah and Huldah, then, in the presentation of 2 Kings 22, appear as ones who deliberately refrain from the intercession which is characteristic for their respective offices elsewhere in Dtr (and which the circumstances seem so urgently to require here). Note finally that in the entire post-Josianic period of Dtr (2 Kings 23:31-25:30) there is no mention whatever of appeal or intercession in the face of evermore imminent catastrophe.

The question now is how this state of affairs is to be explained -- what could have led the Deuteronomist to present Judah's final decades -- in contrast to all previous periods -- as a time

devoid of efforts at intercession to avert the looming disaster? In our view, the Deuteronomist's procedure here has to be understood in terms of his programmatic announcement in 2 Kings 21:10-15. Here, "Yahweh's servants the prophets" pronounce a word of doom on Judah-Jerusalem because of Manasseh's sins (and those of the people as a whole). Thereafter, the Deuteronomist's whole presentation in 2 Kings 22-25 seems designed to underscore the irreversibility of this judgment. Thus, Huldah's words concerning the people's fate in 22:15-18 re-echo those of 21:10-15. Again, the Deuteronomist appends to his laudatio of Josiah in 23:25 a statement making clear that the king's piety had no effect on Yahweh's fixed determination to destroy, 23:26-27. Later, the Babylonian incursion under Jehoiakim is explicitly designated as fulfillment of Yahweh's word against Manasseh (24:2b-4), just as the whole of 24:10-25:26 portrays the stages by which the word of 21:10ff., reaches its definitive realization. It is in the same line that we might now understand the Deuteronomist's remarkable exclusion of the intercessory element in 2 Kings 22(23-25). By representing Josiah and Huldah (as well as all subsequent Judean leaders) as refraining from such activity where it would seem so called for, the Deuteronomist wants, yet again, to underscore the absolute irrevocability of Yahweh's earlier word of doom. In the face of that word, appeal or intercession is simply pointless and so is just not attempted.

If the foregoing remarks concerning the absence of "intercession" in 2 Kings 22-25 have some validity, they supply a key for understanding the non-mention of Jeremiah there. The Deuteronomist would, we indicated, have known Jeremiah, among other things, as a great intercessor during Judah's final decades. But now, the Deuteronomist's aim in depicting this period is to represent it as a time in which intercession had been rendered pointless by a previous irreversible divine judgment and accordingly was not attempted. Obviously, however, Jeremiah the intercessor known to the Deuteronomist would not fit into such a presentation,

and therefore was passed over.^{/35}

In concluding, it should be emphasized that it has not at all been our intention to assert a monocausal explanation for the mystery of Jeremiah's absence in 2 Kings 22-25. Beyond the factor just presented, various other considerations may well have come into play here, e.g., tensions between the Anathoth priesthood and the Jerusalem leadership circles of the Deuteronomi(sti)c movement (so Granild), as well as Jeremiah's problematic stances towards Jehoiachin (so Cazelles) and the Northerners (so, implicitly, Cogan). Our aim has simply been to offer another possibility for making of what will always remain one of the Bible's more tantalizing features.^{/36}

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Notes

1. In this connection note that the Isaiah of 2 Kings 18.17-20.19 a miracle worker and medical practitioner (see especially 2 Kings 20.1-11) is a rather different figure than the prophet Isaiah himself.
2. The author is currently at work on further studies concerning the deuteronomist's non-mention of other classical prophets from Amos to Ezekial. It is his sense that particular factors lie behind the non-appearance of each of the figures in Dtr, ie there is no single key that will explain the absence of all of them. See the remarks of F. Crüsemann, "Kritik an Amos im deuteronomischen Geschichtswerk. Erwägung zu Könige 1427" Probleme biblischer Theologie. G.von Rad zum 70. Geburtstag, ed. H.W. Wolff (Munich, Kaiser, 1971), p58, n.10: "Die dahinterstehenden Gründe (ie for the non-mention of the classical prophets in Dtr) sind sicher vielschichtig und so wenig eine einheit wie die 'Schriftprophetie'. Sie aufzuhellen ist für eine Verhältnis bestimmung der Dtr Theologie zur Prophetie unerlässlich und damit for das Verständnis dieser (Dtr) Theologie."
3. This question arises especially in connection with those texts of Dtr and Jeremiah which are verbally parallel to a large extent: eg 2 Kings 24.18-25.21; Jeremiah 52.1-27 and 2 Kings 25.22-26=Jeremiah 40.7-9.
4. We prescind here from the contemporary controversy about the number of deuteronomistic redactional strata that are to be distinguished. We shall simply work with Noth's conception of a single primary deuteronomistic redactor writing in the exile. We continue to see this conception as the most adequate one available. Recently, it has received powerful new support from H.D. Hoffmann, Reform und Reformen. Untersuchungen zu einem Grundthema der deuteronomischen Geschichtsschreibung. ATANT 66 (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag 1980). Note too that however many deuteronomistic redactors one distinguishes in Dtr, the fact remains that Jeremiah is absent in all of them.
5. It should, however, be noted that there are twentieth century authors who do see the non-mention of Jeremiah in Kings as an indication that the author lacked access to traditions/documentation concerning the prophet as a figure of sufficient stature for inclusion in his work, so (with varying nuances): S. Mowinckel, Zur Komposition des Buches Jeremia (Kristiana: J.

Dybvad, 1914) 30; C.C. Torrey, "The Background of Jeremiah 1-10," JBL 56 (1937) 193-216, p199, n.4; Y. Kaufmann, The Religion of Israel from the beginnings to the Babylonian Exile, trans. and abridged by M. Greenberg (Chicago: Univ Press 1960) 157-166; J. Scharbert, Die Propheten Israels um 600 Chr. (Cologne: Bachem 1967) 459.

So (with various degrees of assurance), eg K.H. Graf, Die geschichtlichen Bücher des Alten Testaments (Leipzig: T.O. Weigel 1866) 110-111; G. Rawlinson, "Kings, Books I and II", The Holy Bible, vol II, ed. F.C. Cook (London, John Murray 1872) 465-624; J.W. Colenso, The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua critically examined, Part VII (London: Longmans, Green & Co 1879) 205; J. Prado, Praelectiones Biblicae ad Usus Scholarum: Vetus Testamentum, Liber Primus: De Sacra Veteris Testamenti Historia (Turin: Marietta/Madrid: El Perpetuo Socorro 1934) 262; B. Mariana, Introductio in Libros sacros Veteris Testamenti (Rome: Herder 1958) 180-181

So eg C.F. Keil, Die Bücher der Könige, BCAT 2:3 (Leipzig: Dörffling & Franke 1876^c) 8-9; A. Sanda, Die Bücher der Könige, I, EHAT 9.1 (Münster: Aschendorfsche Verlagsbuchhandlung 1911) xxxvii-xxxviii.

One author who does so is S. Landesdorfer, Die Bücher der Könige, HSAT 3:2 (Bonn: Hanstein 1927) 5-6. Landesdorfer attributes Kings to a pupil of Jeremiah. The fact that this author does not mention Jeremiah in his presentation is understandable when it is kept in mind that, in general, Kings makes only occasional references to prophets and further that the description of the final decades of Judah - where there would have been occasion to mention Jeremiah - is a very summary one. For a similar view see A. Médebielle, Les livres des Roi, La Sainte Bible, III (Paris: Letouzey et Ané 1949) 327-800, p567. Prado and Garofalo (see n.5) respond to Landesdorfer's and Médebielle's view with the observation that, whereas Jeremiah's absence in Kings is explicable if he were its author, ie in terms of the prophet's modesty, this is not the case with authorship by a disciple - such a one would have had every reason to magnify his master's role in the events he records.

Histoire du Peuple d'Israel, III (Paris: Calman Levy 1891) 234f, n.3 A similar view is espoused by A. Jepsen, Die Quellen des Königsbuches (Halle: M Niemeyer 1956²) 100 who affirms that the redaction of Jeremiah and the "R^{III}" stratum (= Noth's Deuteronomist) in Dtr derive from the same hand. Jepsen does not however relate this view to the question of Jeremiah's absence in Dtr.

So eg with varying nuances: R.E. Clements, Prophecy and Tradition (Atlanta: John Knox 1975) 47-49; Hoffmann, Reform, 267 and n.19; W. Thiel, Die deuteronomische Redaktion von Jeremia 26-45, WMANT 52, (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag 1981) 103, N.25

11. Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer 1957³) 97-98. Noth's claim here is rejected as dubious in the case of the other writing prophets and as "incorrect" for Jeremiah by E. Janssen, Juda in der Exilszeit, FRLANT 69 (Göttingen: vanderhoeck & Ruprecht 1956) 88. Janssen goes on (ibid n.5) to affirm that the non-mention of the classical prophets (including Jeremiah) in Dtr is not "surprising" when we consider eg that Moses and Elijah are rarely cited outside the Pentateuch and the Elijah narratives respectively.
12. Ibid, 86-87, 87 n.3
13. "Why is Jeremiah not Mentioned in the Book of Kings?" in M. Davis, ed. M.M. Kaplan Jubilee Volume (Hebrew Section) (NYork, Jewish Theological Seminary of America 1953) 189-203 esp 203
14. "Jeremia und Deuteronomium" ST 16 (1962) 135-154. G. Brunet, Les Lamentations contre Jeremie (Paris, PUF 1968) 87, n.5 explicitly aligns himself with Granild's overall thesis of an opposition between Jeremiah and the Deuteronomists. Brunet would however see this opposition more in terms of divergent stances towards the Babylonian threat by the two parties. H. Weippert, Die Prosareden des Jeremiabuches, BZAW 132 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1973) 20, n.98 affirms that Granild provides "no plausible answer" to the problem of Jeremiah's absence in 2 Kings 22-23. Her own comments on the point (ibid p20) seem to ruin in the same direction however.
15. "Ergänzungen zum Schlusskapitel des deuteronomischen Geschichtswerks. Oder: Warum der Prophet Jeremia in 2 Könige 22-25 nicht erwähnt?", Textgemäss. Aufsätze und Beiträge zur Hermeneutik des Alten Testaments (Festschrift E. Würthwein), ed. A.H.J. Gunneweg and O. Kaiser (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1979) 94-109 espec 107-109. Poltmann's presentation here builds on his earlier work: Studien zum Jeremiabuch. Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach der Entstehung des Jeremiabuches, FRLANT 118 (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1978)
16. So eg P.R. Ackroyd, Exile and Restoration (Philadelphia, Fortress 1968) 65-68; J.R. Porter, "OT Historiography," Tradition and Interpretation (Oxford, Clarendon 1979) 132-153, pp142-143.
17. So eg Thiel, Jeremia 24-46, pp11-12, 30-31 attributes both Jer 29.5-7 and 32.6-15 to Jeremiah himself, just as do also: S. Böhmer, Heimkehr und neuer Bund. Studien zu Jeremia 30-31, GTA 5 (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1976) 31-33 and J. Schreiner Jeremia 25, 15-52, 34, Die Neue Echter Bibel (Würzburg, Echter

1984) 168, 190-192

"Das Prophetenssschweigen des deuteronomischen Geschichtswerk," Die Botschaft und die Boten. Festschrift für H.W. Wolff, ed. J.Jeremias and L. Perlitt (neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag 1981) 115-128

An explanation for the absence of the Classical prophets in Dtr along similar lines is advanced by: M.E.W. Thompson, Situation and Theology: OTInter-pretations of the Syro-Ephraemite War, Prophets and Historians, Series I (Sheffield: Almond 1982) 87-88 and R.P. Carroll, From Chaos to Covenant Prophecy in the Book of Jeremiah NYork: Crossroad 1982) 228.

So eg H.W. Wolff, "Das Thema 'Umkehr' in der alttestamentlichen Prop-
hetie," ZTK 48 (1951) 129-148 = Wolff, Gesammelte Studien zum AT,TB 22
(Munich, Kaiser 1973)130-150; idem, "Die eigentliche Botschaft der klas-
sischen Propheten," Beitrage zu alttestamentlichen Theologie, Fest-
schrift für Walther Zimmerli zum 70. Geburtstag, ed. H. Donner et alii.
Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1977) 547-557. W.H. Schmidt, "Die
prophetische 'Grundgewissenheit'," EvT 31(1971) 630-650; K. Koch, Die
Propheten I (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer 1978) 66; II (1980) 36; A.V.Hunter,
Seek the Lord! A Study of the Meaning and Function of the Exhortations
in Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah and Zephaniah (Baltimore: St. Mary's Semin-
ary and University 1982) 277-280.

So eg G. Fohrer, Studien zur alttestamentliche Prophetie (1949-1965),
BZAW 99 (Berl;in Töpelmann 1967) 16,31,159-163, 222-241; O. Keel, "Recht-
tum oder Annahme des drohenden Gerichts?" BZ NF 21 (1977) 210-218, esp.
pp 211-218; J.A. Soggin, "sub," TWAT II (munich: Kaiser/Zurich:Theol.
Verlag 1979) 884-891, esp. 889.

Eg. L. Markert-G.Wanke, "Die Propheteninterpretation.
Anfragen und Überlegungen," Kerygma und Dogma 22 (1976)
191-220, esp. p213; K.A. Tängberg, "Var Israels 'Klassike'
profeter bōtspredikanter?," TTK 50 (1979) 93-105, espec.
99-102.

On the theme of repentance as an element of the authentic
words of Jeremiah, see eg W.L. Holladay, The Root SUBH in
the Old Testament (Leiden, Brill, 1958) 138,152-153; W.
Thiel, Die deuteronomischenRedaktion von Jeremia 1-25
WMANT 41 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1973),
216-217, 251f; Koch, Profeten II 36; Carroll, Chaos, 73-83

So,es. H.W. Wolff, "Das Kerygma des deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk,"

- ZAW 73 (1961) 171-186 = Wolff, Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament, TB 22 (Munich, 1973²). 308-324 esp 320f; P. Diepold, Israels Land, BWANT 95 (Stuttgart, 1971) 147-150, 204-209.
25. This has been noted by eg., O.H. Steck, Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten, WMANT 23 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1967) 68f and n.3.
26. So, eg., Dietrich, Prophetie, 42f (from "DtrN"); H. Spieckermann, Juda unter Assur in der Sargonidenzeit, FRLANT 129 (Göttingen 1982) 168, n.19 (from "DtrN");
27. I.L. Seeligmann, "Die Auffassung von der Prophetie in der deuteronomistischen und chronistischen Geschichtsschreibung (mit einem Exkurs über das Buch Jeremia), " Congress Vol. Göttingen 1977, VTS 29 (Leiden 1978) 254-284 esp 267-270
28. P. Höffken, Recension of J. Jeremias and L. Perlitt, eds., Die Botschaft und die Boten (see n.18) in BO 41 (1984) 146-152
29. Pohlmann, Jeremiabuch, 206.
30. H. Cazelles, "587 or 586?" The Word of the Lord shall Go Forth Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His 60th Birthday, ed, C.L. Meyers and M. O'Connor (Philadelphia,, 1983) 427-435, p430
31. On this text see most recently J.D. Levenson, "The Last Four Verses in Kings," JBL 103 (1984) 353-361
32. M. Cogan, "Israel in Exile - the view of a Josianic Historian," JBL 97 (1978)) 40-44. Note that for Cogan 2 Kings 17 dates from the time of Josiah.
33. So E. Balentine, "The Prophet as Intercessor: A Reassessment," JBL 103 (1984) 161-173
34. On these texts see E.E. Staudt, Prayer and the People in the Deuteronomist, Dissertation Vanderbilt University (Ann Arbor, 1980)
35. In response to the question of why the Deuteronomist could not have simply ignored or eliminated this feature of Jeremiah's activity and so made him amenable to inclusion in his work we would suggest that the image of Jeremiah as intercessor was so much a part of both the Deuteronomist's and his audience's view of the prophet that such a move would have been unthinkable
36. See the statement with which C. Vang, Jeremias' of Jeremiasbogens forhold til den deuteronomistiske tradition i lyset af nyere forskning, (Aarhus 1983) XLV, n.131 concludes his summary review of the positions of Klausner, Pohlmann, Koch and Thiel on the question: "Det engyldige ord i denne debat er naeppe sagt endnu!"

. Foresti, The Rejection of Saul in the Perspective of the Deuteronomic School. A Study of 1 Samuel and related texts. (Studia Theologica Teresianum 5)

Edizioni del Teresianum, Rome 1984. pp205 np

This monograph is an MA thesis, only slightly modified, and the reader should be warned of this at the outset. It is a very detailed and technical study, with frequent reference to the Hebrew, and is not at all easy reading. The English leaves something to be desired, but it would be churlish to suggest that this fact obscures the argument in any way.

From one point of view the monograph is simply a detailed analysis of Samuel 15, an exercise in source and redaction criticism. From another point of view it is a sustained rejoinder to B.C. Birch, who, in his The Rise of the Israelite Monarchy (1976) maintained that the chapter was the work of one man, the "prophetic redactor". By contrast Foresti finds four strata in 1 Samuel 15, an early and three successive redactions, all deuteronomistic (and only one of them prophetic)

There is growing support nowadays for the view that there were two deuteronomists, an original historian (Dtr H) of the late seventh century B.C. and an exilic redactor (Dtr N). However, it has been widely held that either writer intruded very much in the books of Samuel, but was mostly content to transmit earlier material unretouched. More recently, some writers - notably B.C. Birch and now P.K. McCarter - find evidence of an important redactional strand of "prophetic" interest; and both Birch and McCarter maintain that the whole of 1 Samuel 15 is the work of this prophetic writer. As we have said, Foresti reduces the contribution of this writer ("Dtr P") to a minimum.

Foresti's arguments will obviously have to be taken into consideration in future treatments of Samuel; opinions will differ whether he makes his case. If indeed there were two or three deuteronomists, as is widely held, then it is good methodology to explore the possibility that they all made their mark in a specific chapter. On the other hand, scholars of the calibre of Birch and McCarter did not lightly reach the conclusion that Samuel is unitary. The problem is that arguments for finding literary divisions in the chapter are distinctly forced; and one feels that Foresti has given no adequate consideration to purely literary (as opposed to literary-critical) questions. To use as an argument for detecting separate hands the fact that 1 Samuel contains repetitions with slight modifications of wording is astonishing, given that this phenomenon is typical of OT narrative as a whole. Moreover, the reviewer is very sceptical about the exercise of assigning half-verses (or less) to specific authors. Nevertheless Foresti's conclusions have a certain plausibility of their own - provided that one allows that so many definable deuteronomists

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Irving M. Zeitlin, Ancient Judaism: Biblical Criticism from Max Weber to the Present, pp xiii, 314 Polity Press 1984

The title of this book reflects its author's intention: "to ask whether and in what respect Weber's work needs to be updated or corrected"; and the reader is further encouraged by the publisher's blurb to believe that "this book is a **major** contribution to the sociology of religion and to religious and biblical studies." In pursuit of this object the book then traces the history and religion of Israel through successive chapters on "The nature of polytheism", "The Patriarchs and their God", "Social Origins of ethical monotheism", "The Israelites in Canaan: infiltration or conquest", "The rise of the monarchy", "Religion and society under the kings", "Classical prophecy and the concern for social justice", and "Exile and return."

There is plenty of scope here for a contribution to both biblical studies and the sociology of religion, but in neither respect can this book be seen as a conspicuous success. So far as biblical studies are concerned, it is a thoroughly conservative account which follows at appropriate points the work of Y. Kaufmann, but makes very few if any concessions to critical biblical scholarship. It might seem at first that source criticism of the Pentateuch is in principle accepted. However, the current controversy in Pentateuchal criticism is taken to suggest that what is needed is "a historical-sociological approach of the kind employed in the present study", and the major principle of the latter seems to be that "it is a sound methodological rule, where biblical criticism is concerned, that one ought not to reject any statement in the scriptures which is not inherently impossible, nor contradicted by a more reliable source" (p43). This kind of "rule" enables the author to adopt as a historical account of Israel the biblical presentation more or less as it stands.

A major objection which one must lodge against the particular form which the conservatism of this book takes is that it uses the work of critical scholarship insofar as that work criticizes other critical views (especially those of Alt and Noth) which the author wishes to counter, but otherwise ignores that critical scholarship. This is particularly clear in relation to Noth's reconstruction of pre-monarchic Israel and to Alt's views on the Israelite monarchy. In both cases serious criticism can be made, but it is a gross distortion of critical scholarship to play one critical view off against another in the interests of maintaining what

amounts to a fairly fundamentalist position. This distortion is exacerbated when critical views which cannot be treated so easily in this way (as, for example, Thompson on the patriarchs, and Buccellati on the monarchic state) are simply passed over in silence.

As far as the sociology of religion is concerned, one can only be very puzzled by this book. Much has been done in recent years which must qualify under the title of a sociological approach in the reconstruction of Israelite history and religion, but little of it appears here. Particularly striking is the complete silence on the work of N. Gottwald and W. M. Mendenhall, while Mendenhall, whose work is not noted in the bibliography, is dismissed in a footnote (p146 n.36); even those scholars who are referred to here, such as Alt and Noth, and whose work falls clearly within the framework of a sociological understanding of Israel, are not approached from this point of view. The treatment of the patriarchs and of pre-monarchic Israel includes no discussion of the nature of tribal society and the function of the family and the clan in that context; the discussion of classical prophecy indeed sets it within the framework of emerging social stratification in Israel under the monarchy, but makes no reference to sociological studies of prophetic movements and attempts by scholars such as R.R. Wilson to exploit these in understanding Israelite prophecy. In the more particular area of the sociology of religion, there is no discussion of the relationship between religion and society on any sort of theoretical level; the topic is treated only in terms of the (minor) extent to which there was corruption of the pure worship of Yahweh in the time of the monarchy.

The audience for which this book is intended is difficult to determine. Neither biblical critic nor sociologist will find much of value in it. This is regrettable, for it sets out to deal with a subject on which much has been done and to which much remains to contribute.

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Claus Westermann, Genesis 1-11; A Commentary
SPCK London 1984 pp636
Tr from German by J.J. Scullion
(Genesis, Bib. Kommentar, Neukirchener
1976)

The contributions of Claus Westermann to biblical research have been both impressive and extensive, and this is certainly true of his recent commentary on Genesis. Not surprisingly, therefore, the first part of this

commentary has now been translated into English, thanks to the dedicated labour of John Scullion. As a result a much wider audience should now benefit from Westermann's detailed exposition of these chapters, provided, however, that the price does not prove prohibitive. Certainly the very extent of this work (over 600 pages) ensures that any serious discussion of the early chapters of Genesis will have to take into account Westermann's conclusions. There are however several factors of which the reader ought to be aware in assessing these.

The first concerns the simply reality of life that time stands still for no man. As no sustained effort has been made to update the work during translation, Westermann's comments reflect the state of affairs existing approximately ten years ago when he first penned the German original. Indeed it is apparent from an editorial comment on p68 that at least one section of the present volume dates back to 1966, and this would seem to be supported by the bibliographical details contained on pp69-73.

Although, generally speaking, a decade does not represent a particularly long time in biblical studies, new research does from time to time challenge accepted positions and require careful consideration. Thus eg Westermann's analysis of the Flood Narrative takes no account of the recent studies of B.W. Anderson, "From Analysis to Synthesis: The Interpretation of Genesis 1-11," JBL 97 (1978) pp23-39; G.J. Wenham, "The Coherence of the Flood Narrative," VT 28 (1978) pp336-348; R.E. Longacre "The Discourse Structure of the Flood Narrative," JAAR 47 (1979) pp89-133. Each of these writers suggests independently that the present form of the Flood Story exhibits a more closely integrated structure than has previously been acknowledged. In particular, Anderson and Wenham observe that the account has a palistrophic pattern centring on the expression in 8.1, "Go remembered Noah." Given Westermann's own comments regarding stylistic repetitions within a narrative (p583), one wonders if it might not now be necessary to revise his conclusions on the source analysis of the Flood narrative. It is surely to be regretted that the opportunity has not been taken to incorporate the results of more recent studies by updating not only the bibliographies but where necessary the text. This would certainly have enhanced greatly the usefulness of the present translation.

A more fundamental problem regarding Westermann's interpretation of the text arises from his understanding of its development and growth. He comments: "The exegesis of the Pentateuch and indeed of Genesis has from the very outset to deal with several stages of the formation of the text. The final form of the text was fashioned according to literary principles and laws, the individual sections, in any case in part, according to those of oral tradition." (p575) As a result Westermann's exegesis of the text frequently focusses on hypothetical reconstructions of the text's development in the oral and written stages. Thus eg to explain the relationship

between the trees of life and of knowledge in the garden of Eden, Westermann regards the trees of life in 2.9, 3.22-24 to be an addition to an earlier narrative which mentioned only the tree of knowledge (pp212-214). This, however, presupposes that one can uncover, with relative certainty, the various stages by which the text reached its present form. The boldness with which Westermann sets about unravelling these different layers and traditions conveys a sense of real confidence in such a procedure. The reader however should reflect carefully on the fact that the end results rest heavily upon a theoretical reconstruction of the text's history.

By emphasizing the oral phase in the formation of the book of Genesis Westermann follows in the footsteps of Gunkel, the pioneer of Form-criticism. Recently, however, the whole area of oral tradition has come under special consideration and doubts have been expressed about the feasibility of detecting material which originated orally. As S.M. Warner observes, "At present we see no reason to assume that the narratives of Genesis bear any close resemblance to orally transmitted data at all. If biblical scholars wish to argue such a thesis they must develop new criteria with which to establish it." ("Primitive Saga Men", VI 29 (1979) p335). Such a comment clearly challenges Westermann's exegetical method.

A helpful feature of the translation, not available in the German original, is the provision of various indexes which should enable Westermann's views on particular issues to be found with greater ease - a very definite benefit in a work of this size.

As the largest and most significant commentary on Genesis to appear in the past fifty years, Westermann's work will undoubtedly long remain the yardstick by which all others are judged.

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Klaas Runia, The Present Day Christological Debate
IVPress 1984 pp120 £4.50

The purpose of this book is twofold, namely to affirm the truth and validity of the NT Christology upheld by the church both at Nicaea (325) and Chalcedon (451) and to set out and counter a great variety of modern views that challenge this conclusion. It is, however, only at the end that the former purpose is addressed, while the latter occupies the main chapters in the book.

As if by way of contrast to what follows the christology of the towering figure of Karl Barth is briefly set out and approved as adhering

to the classical christology., The main concern of the author is briefly to examine a variety of new developments which diverge in similar and different ways from accepted orthodoxy. Pannenburg's emphasis on history and the resurrection receives the most sympathetic treatment while Moltman's views in "The crucified God" are rightly criticised as doing less than justice both to the Trinity and to the humanity of Jesus.

Two further chapters examine Roman Catholic and Protestant deviations in the writing of Schoonenberg, Schillebeeckx, and Küng in the former case and Ellen Flessman, J.A.T. Robinson and H. Berkhof in the latter. While there are great variations between these groupings and individual theologians, they all do less than justice to the full deity and true humanity of Jesus Christ. The deity in particular is scarcely affirmed in a phrase which sums up much of their writings, namely, Jesus Christ represent God and represent man. A further chapter deals with the recent debate centred round The Myth of God Incarnate.

Runia's summaries of these writers clearly encapsulated their main thought and his critique is pertinent and valid. Another two chapters attempt to examine the NT basis of later teaching as formulated at Nicaea and Chalcedon and the statements of these Councils. While regarded as normatively interpreted with understanding and sympathy they are also mildly criticised in their form and language if not in content.

Runia's critique of the christologies he finds unacceptable focusses on several points. They see Jesus primarily 'from below' and so primarily as man whose function is more important than his person. He represents both God and man but is not necessarily himself divine and he is only in degree but not in kind different from us. God is seen in man rather than coming from man in the incarnation and philosophical presuppositions as well as an attempt to be relevant to the modern world determine in part at least their position. In consequence all have serious problems with the doctrine of the Trinity which is regarded only as "economic" but not as immanent in God himself.

Runia seems at times to argue that some of this is due to the use of historical-critical methods but does not state whether these are usable or not and if so how they lend support to a high incarnational model. This may well be so but would need to be demonstrated in practice.

The author set himself the limited objective of interpreting and exposing the inadequacies of much modern writing on christology. While he has given a brief exposition of the NT and early church teaching in the last chapters one would have liked to have seen greater place given to those modern theologians, also considerable in number and stature, who support the orthodox position he outlines. Without the statement of these writers the title of the book The Present Day Christological Debate is somewhat misleading. Nonetheless the book is a clear and persuasive expose of those theologies which are contrary to the received tradition of the church as seen

Nicaea and Chalcedon.

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